

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01510 191645Z

67

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 IO-10 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

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FM USMISSION NATO

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INFO ALLL NATO CAPITALS 5159

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WLELLINGTON

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1510

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE, UR, XB

SUBJECT: SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA

1. DURING MARCH 18 POLADS MEETING, UK REP

(MARGETSON) REPORTED RECENT MOSCOW CONVERSATION CONCERNING SOVIET

PROPOSAL FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA (CSA) BETWEEN

UK MOSCOW EMBOFF AND SOVIET SPECIALIST ROGACHEV, WHOM HE

IDENTIFIED AS MEMBER OF KAPITSAS STAFF AT FAR EAST INSITUTE.

ROGOCHEV TOLD UK EMBOFF THAT CSA IS ONLY A "GENERAL IDEA"

THAT SOVIETS ARE IN NO HURRY TO DEFINE IN CONCRETE TERMS.

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PAGE 02 NATO 01510 191645Z

ROGOCHEV SAID CONCEPT STILL NEEDS A "NUMBER OF BRICKS",  
ONE OF WHICH WOULD BE A "NEUTRALIZED" SOUTHEAST ASIA.

WHEN ASKED IF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND WOULD BE INCLUDED IN CSA  
CONCEPT, ROGOCHEV REPLIED THEY COULD BE CONSIDERED TO BE ASIAN;

HOWEVER, UK REP DOUBTED SOVIETS HAD GIVEN SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO POSITION OF AUSTRALIA OR NEW ZEALAND. ROGOCHEV CONCLUDED BY SAYING "WHOLE THING WLD NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRC." UK REP CONCLUDED FROM THIS REMARK THAT THE CSA CONCEPT IS STILL A VERY LONG TERM SOVIET POLICY; HOWEVER, HE SAW IT POSSIBLE THAT SOVIETS MIGHT GIVE INCREASED EMPHASIS TO CSA FOLLOWING CSCE.

2. FRG REP (CITRON) CIRCULATED FOLLOWING FRG ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET CSA PROPOSAL. HE DREW PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO PARA 5 OF PAPER, WHICH COMPARES SOVIET APPROACH TO CSCE WITH POSITION ON CSA.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. MR BRESHNEVS STATEMENTS IN HIS PROGRAMMATIC SPEECH IN ULAN BATOR ON 26 NOVEMBER 1974 INDICATE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL TAKE NEW INITIATIVES WITH REGARD TO THE CSA SINCE THE CSCE IS APPROACHING ITS FINAL PHASE.

2. THERE ARE MANY SIGNS THAT, AFTER MONGOLIA WAS THE ONLY COUNTRY TO AGREE UNRESERVEDLY TO THE CSA PLAN, THE SOVIETS MAY TRY TO REVIVE IT VIA REGIONAL ALLIANCES AS A FIRST STEP.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FORMER SOVIET TACTICS TO ENCOURAGE THE CSA IDEA THROUGH NON GOVERNMENTAL CHANNELS BY "PEACE LOVING" SOCIAL FORCES SUCH AS THE INDO SOVIET CULTURAL SOCIETIES, TRADE UNION MEETINGS, COMMUNIST PARTIES ETC, MAY FREQUENTLY HAVE BEEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

4. THE SOVIET REALIZATION THAT ASIAN COUNTRIES ARE NOT PREPARED TO ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE HARNESSSED OPENLY FOR AN ANTI-CHINESE STRATEGY HAS LED TO A SHIFT OF EMPHASIS WITH REGARD TO THE AIMS PURSUED BY CSA. THE ACCENT IS THEREFORE INCREASINGLY BEING PLACED ON ANTI WESTERN ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS (SUCH AS JAPANESE MONOPOLIES) AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE. NEVERTHELESS, MOSCOW'S AIMS CONTINUE TO BE AS FOLLOWS:

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PAGE 03 NATO 01510 191645Z

A. PUTTING FORWARD ITS LEGITIMATE CLAIM TO BE AN ORIGINAL ASIAN POWER;  
B. SANCTIONING AND MULTILATERAL GUARANTEE OF THE EXISTING FRONTIERS;  
C. PREVENTION OF REGIONAL TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS;  
D. CONTAINMENT OF CHINA BY INCLUDING IT INTO CSA OR ISOLATING IT IN CASE OF NON PARTICIPATION;  
E. REPLACEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AS THE POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY HEGEMONIAL POWER IN ASIA;  
F. ENCOURAGEMENT OF THOSE POLITICAL FORCES WHICH DEMAND CLOSER TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FIELDS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND TRADE, AND SOCIOLOGICAL CHANGES AT HOME.

5. IN THIS WAY, THE SOVIET CSA CONCEPT SHOWS SIMILARITIES BUT ALSO DIFFERENCES WITH THEIR CSCE APPROACH. THE SIMILARITY LIES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO SAFEGUARD THE RELATIVELY FAVOURABLE TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL STATUS QUO IN THE REGION. THE DIFFERENCE PRIMARILY IS THAT, AT THE CSCE, MOSCOW IS WORKING TOWARDS A CONSENSUS BETWEEN ALL PARTICIPANTS, ALSO THOSE WHO BELONG TO DIFFERENT SYSTEMS, WHILE, IN ASIA, IT IS PERSUING THE AIM TO ORGANIZE THE CONFRONTATION WITH CHINA. END TEXT  
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BANGKOK  
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MOSCOW  
TOKYO  
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